Chapter 8

News of the Struggle: the Russian political press in London 1853-1921

Charlotte Alston

Between 1855 and 1917, almost fifty different Russian language periodicals were published in London and the surrounding area.[1] Although the backgrounds, politics and tactics of the editors varied widely, each of these publications engaged in one way or another in the struggle against the tsarist government: the censorship regime in the Russian Empire meant these periodicals could only be published abroad. In 1875-6 the eminent Russian philosopher and socialist Petr Lavrov edited his bi-weekly review *Vpered!* (Forward!) at offices in Lower Charles Street, Clerkenwell, and forwarded copies of the journal to the library of the British Museum from his home address on Moray Road, near Finsbury Park.[2] In 1897, Vladimir Burtsev established his short-lived but notorious periodical *Narodovolets* (Member of the People's Will) in London: articles in this journal advocating the assassination of the tsar led to Burtsev's arrest for inciting regicide.[3] The following year, not far away at Purleigh in Essex, Vladimir Chertkov and Pavel Biriukov began a Tolstoyan journal, *Svobodnoe Slovo* (The Free Word), devoted to the rejection of violence in all its forms.[4] In the revolutionary year of 1905, a periodical entitled *Novosti Borby* (News of the Struggle) appeared in six issues between February and March. In the years following the October revolution London resumed its status as a home for Russian political publishing, as the city hosted a wave of new, and old, emigrants who campaigned in print against the Bolshevik regime.

This chapter explores the nature and scope of Russian political publishing in London from the 1850s to the 1920s. Firstly, it focuses on three key phases of activity in Russian publishing in London: the work of Alexander Herzen and his Free Russian Press in London from 1853 to 1865; the activities of the Free Russian Press Fund in London in the 1890s; and

the post-revolutionary publishing scene in 1918-21. It discusses the commercial operation, distribution networks, longevity and purpose of some key enterprises. Secondly, it draws some conclusions about the character of the Russian political publishing world across the period in question, focusing on the transnational networks within which Russian editors and publishers worked; their engagement (or otherwise) with London life, politics, and audiences; questions of unity and disunity in the Russian emigration; and the temporal as well as geographical connections between different centres, and phases, of the Russian political emigration.

Alexander Herzen and the Free Russian Press

The first and the best-known Russian publishing house in London was the Free Russian Press, founded by Alexander Herzen at 82 Judd Street in Bloomsbury in 1853.[5] Herzen, the 'father of Russian socialism', left Russia in 1847, and spent five years in Italy, Switzerland, and (in 1848) France. He was exceptionally well connected with European revolutionaries, and strove to educate European socialists about the state of affairs in Russia, positing Russian peasant socialism as a model for the west. Disillusioned by the trajectory of the 1848 revolutions, and deeply affected by the deaths of first his wife and then his mother and son, Herzen moved to London and resolved not to focus on the concerns of Western Europe, but instead to devote himself to providing an outlet for free, uncensored Russian thought.[6]

Herzen announced the arrival of the Free Russian Press in a short pamphlet that asked Russians to send material – everything 'written in a spirit of freedom' would be published. In the meantime he would publish his own manuscripts, but he was not principally interested in sharing his own ideas with his readers; rather he wanted to provide a vehicle for discussion of theirs.[7] Besides Russian language books and pamphlets, Herzen's press published two important periodicals. The first, *Poliarnaia Zvezda* (The Polar Star, 1855-1868) brought

together a range of materials: the editors hoped to feature in each edition a general article on the philosophy of revolution, or socialism; a historical or statistical article about Russia or the Slav world; an analysis of a work of history, politics or philosophy; a literary article; and a selection of letters, a bibliography, and a chronicle of events.[8] The publication of *Poliarnaia zvezda* was directly inspired by the death of the repressive tsar Nicholas I: its first edition contained both an indictment of Nicholas's policies and an open letter to his successor, Alexander II, urging moderation and reform.[9] In the meantime, Herzen hoped the journal would be a home for all those manuscripts that were 'drowning in the imperial censorship, and all those that it had mutilated'.[10] The second periodical, *Kolokol* (The Bell, 1857-1867), was initiated as a supplement to *Poliarnaia zvezda* but overtook it in circulation and notoriety. It was launched in 1857 after the arrival in London of Herzen's closest friend Nikolai Ogarev. Having come directly from Russia Ogarev believed that the new environment of Alexander II's reign demanded a more frequent publication that could respond rapidly to the concerns of the time.[11]

Kolokol was by any measure (longevity, circulation, sustainability) one of the most successful Russian émigré publications. 245 issues were produced across the decade between 1857 and 1867, and it had a circulation at its peak of 2,500 copies.[12] Despite Herzen's initial frustration at the lack of dialogue with Russian writers and thinkers (before 1856 few manuscripts arrived from Russia, and some visitors pressed Herzen to stop his publishing enterprises), by the time the second issue of *Poliarnaia zvezda* appeared sales of books, and letters and contributions for the paper, were rising. By the end of 1858 the publishing house was making a profit.[13] Of course, it helped that Herzen had a private fortune to draw on: he regarded money as one of his 'weapons', and used it to make a success of his publishing enterprises. After the establishment of *Kolokol*, Herzen's press moved to larger premises at 136 and 138 Caledonian Road. An English observer described this as 'a small house with a

workshop attached to it, decorated with a doorplate bearing the words 'Vol'naya Russkaya Tipografiya' written in Russian characters'. The papers printed there were 'destined to circulate over the whole continent, and not only to be passed from hand to hand in every city of European Russia, but perhaps to penetrate into the farthest parts of Asia, to be eagerly read by insurgents in the forests of Poland and to cheer the hearts of exiles on the confines of Tartary… The presses furnish little that is intended for home consumption. Their sheets are adapted for Russian eyes alone'.[14]

In the 1860s Herzen's publishing enterprises became a victim of their own success. The emancipation act of 1861 rewarded Herzen's hopes for reform, but at the same time his activities had paved the way for a proliferation of Russian émigré periodicals, representing different revolutionary parties and points of view. In 1865, Herzen transferred the Free Russian Press to Geneva, now a thriving centre for Russian political publishing.

London was still one hub in the Russian publishing network. Petr Tkachev and Petr Dolgorukov published some works in London in the 1860s and 70s, and Petr Lavrov briefly moved his *Vpered!* – 'a journal of information rather than inspiration' according to Lavrov's biographer – to the city.[15] *Vpered!* ran to 16 pages of fairly theoretical articles on (for example) the workers' movement, or students and the people, along with a short editorial and a chronicle of 'the struggle'.[16] Lavrov positioned himself outside the struggles of the First International, but alienated some supporters by advocating a long period of study and preparation for revolutionaries undertaking revolutionary propaganda work amongst the masses: an attitude rather out of kilter with the enthusiasm amongst Russian socialists at this time to get into the countryside and educate, and learn from, the people.[17] Tensions amongst the *Vpered!* group, who ran the journal's operations as a commune at a series of addresses around Finsbury Park, eventually led Lavrov to move to Paris in 1877. It was not until two decades later that London saw a renewed burst of Russian publishing activity.

The Free Russian Press Fund in the 1890s

The next major phase began in the 1890s with the establishment of the Free Russian Press Fund in London. The two guiding figures in this movement were Sergei Kravchinskii (who wrote under the pseudonym Stepniak) and Feliks Volkhovsky. In Russia, both had been members of the populist propaganda circle associated with Nikolai Chaikovskii in the 1870s.[18] Chaikovskii was already in England in the 1880s, and encouraged Kravchinskii to base himself there – he was negotiating for English publication of Kravchinskii's account of the Russian revolutionary movement, *Underground Russia* (1883).[19] Volkhovsky escaped from a penal settlement in Siberia in 1889, and was initially involved in lecturing and propaganda activities in Canada, before joining Kravchinskii in London.[20] Kravchinskii was the more charismatic and dynamic of the pair, but he and Volkhovsky worked for similar aims: they intended both to enlist western public opinion in the struggle against the tsarist government, and to unite the fissile Russian emigration into 'an effective coalition against autocracy'.[21] Both these strands were pursued through their political publications in London.

Kravchinskii and Volkhovsky's first London-based periodical was an English language publication, *Free Russia* (1890-1914). This was the journal of the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom, an organisation established by Kravchinskii in conjunction with Newcastle-based liberal and Quaker Robert Spence Watson in 1889.[22] Initially Kravchinskii envisaged both an English language paper (to publicise the cause) and a Russian language paper (as an outlet for Russian discussion of political affairs), but as plans developed he felt that it was unwise to confuse the two projects. The Russian paper was quietly dropped, though some translations of material in *Free Russia* were made for circulation in Russia.[23] Kravchinskii hoped to sell 5,000 of *Free Russia* per month. Sales certainly did not live up to this target, but circulation does

seem to have been healthy. Newsstand sales for 1891 were 3606 and for 1892 14,483: the paper was also sold at meetings of the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom and other sympathetic organisations, and one would assume the largest sales came through subscriptions.[24] Special issues of the journal and illustrations were also supported by subsidies from the Society's members.[25]

In June 1891 Kravchinskii, Volkhovsky, Chaikovskii, M. V. Voinich, and Leonid Shishko established the Free Russian Press Fund, the Russian language arm of their publishing enterprises. Kravchinskii intended the fund to be a 'medium of expression free from the constraints not only of censorship but of factional politics and ideological rigidity'.[26] Like Herzen, they began with the publication of books, opening a bookstore at 15 Augustus Road, and counterparts run by Shishko in Paris and Egor Lazarev in Zurich. The Fund's stores stocked an eclectic range of Russian revolutionary texts, from the writings of Tolstoy to those of Georgi Plekhanov and Vera Zasulich.[27] Their first pamphlet set the tone for the Fund's publication strategy, calling on both Russian liberals and Russian socialists in emigration to unite (even if temporarily) in their opposition to tsarism, working first of all for constitutional reforms.[28] From December 1893 onwards the Fund published a bulletin, *Letuchie listki* (Flying Leaflets, 1893-1899). Again these echoed Herzen: while the editors initially claimed they had started the bulletin because there was so much information coming to them from Russia, Volkhovsky later admitted that they had only hoped that someone would reply to their request for news.[29] 46 issues of *Letuchie listki* were published between December 1893 and August 1899.

In the two years up to December 1893, the Fund estimated that they had distributed 33,000 copies of forbidden books. They were smuggled into Russia, sold through the Fund's bookshops to émigrés, and advertised in hotel lobbies to Russians travelling abroad. When *Letuchie listki* was launched its print run varied between 4,000 and 10,000. Copies were sent unsolicited to editors of Russian newspapers, and to regional and government officials in

Russia. Many Russian Free Press fund activities were financed by a substantial loan (£40) from sympathiser Mary S. Beard, which they paid back at 8 pounds a year over five years.[30] Other publishers and periodicals operated in proximity to the Russian Free Press Fund – Vladimir Burtsev borrowed type from them in order to print his *Narodovolets*, although Volkhovsky and Chaikovskii did not approve of the journal's upfront advocacy of terror.[31] There were also other English language Russian publishing enterprises in the 1890s. In 1897 Jaakoff Prelooker set up *The Anglo-Russian* (1897-1914) with the aim of improving Anglo-Russian relations (although the journal was nevertheless hostile to the tsarist regime).[32] At Christchurch, near Bournemouth, Vladimir Chertkov established both English- and Russian language divisions – The Free Age Press, and Izdatel'stvo Svobodnago Slova (The Free Word Press) – for his press devoted to publishing Tolstoy's works and sympathetic Tolstoyan material.[33]

One of the principal setbacks the Fundists faced was the death of Sergei Kravchinskii on 23 September 1895. On his way to Shepherd's Bush for a meeting with Volkhovsky and Lazarev about the establishment of a new, all-party Russian language journal, Kravchinskii was hit by a train on a level crossing not far from his apartment in Bedford Park.[34] Kravchinskii's death deprived the Russian emigration of one of its most dynamic figures, and proved a major setback for their cross-party plans. While *Letuchie listki* continued under Volkhovsky, in the late 1890s it abandoned its all-party stance and became a vehicle of the Socialist Revolutionary Party.

Post-Revolutionary Political Publishing

After the 1905 revolution, new political freedoms meant many Russian political émigrés returned to the Russian empire, and the relaxation of censorship meant their publishing enterprises switched there too. Burtsev for example re-established his periodical *Byloe* (The

Past) on his return to Russia. New political parties reflecting the politics of the emigration were established and so too were official publications. Some activists remained in or returned to emigration in this period: Russian anarchists in the Kropotkinite *Khleb i volya* group published in London in the pre-revolutionary years for example.[35] In 1918 however, as the Bolshevik government closed the newly elected constituent assembly, and clamped down on political freedoms, a new wave of activists returned to European centres of emigration. This wave of emigration included many who had previous experience of Russian activism abroad: Pavel Miliukov, for example, who had toured the US and Europe for the revolutionary cause in 1903-4; Nikolai Chaikovskii, who had worked with the Russian Free Press Fund, and once again found himself again in England; and Ariadna Tyrkova-Williams, who had worked for the Russian émigré journal *Osvobozhdenie* (Liberation) in Stuttgart and Paris, and now established herself in London.

Tyrkova-Williams was a journalist, novelist and central member of the Constitutional Democratic Party. She was one of the principal organisers of the Russian Liberation Committee, established in London in February 1919 to coordinate publicity for the anti-Bolshevik cause. The Committee included prominent pre-revolutionary politicians and academics including Miliukov (who was Foreign Minister in the first Provisional Government of 1917) and historian Mikhail Rostovtsev.[36] They published weekly bulletins (news sheets to which the Foreign Office and the State Department, amongst others, subscribed); pamphlets on specific topics (from the Volunteer armies to Lenin's terror), which were usually produced in print runs of 5,000 to 10,000; and, from early 1920, the periodicals *The New Russia* (1920-21), and *Russian Life* (1921-22) which detailed the activities of the Russian emigration in London, and focused on longer term issues such as aid for Russian refugees in Europe.[37] The Committee also managed the London end of a telegraphic service that wired news directly from the anti-Bolshevik fronts in the civil war, and placed this information both in their own publications

and in the mainstream London press. The Committee's publishing enterprises were based at 173 Fleet Street – formerly Moscow newspaper *Russkoe Slovo's* London office – where they had a staff of twenty-one.[38]

Russia's anti-Bolshevik socialists were also represented in the post-revolutionary publishing scene. *The Russian Commonwealth* (1918-19) a twice-monthly journal edited by S. Poliakov-Litovtsev, aimed to unite Russians who opposed the Bolsheviks and favoured a) a republic, b) the summoning of a democratically elected constituent assembly, and c) close cooperation with the Allies in 'the regeneration of Russia'.[39] The journal's contributors included socialist revolutionaries Aleksandr Kerensky and Aleksandr Titov, and Social Democrat Pavel Akselrod. The latter had been a leading figure in the Social Democratic Party in emigration and was now a fierce anti-Bolshevik campaigner who worked particularly to influence international socialist opinion. The paper pitched his contributions as of particular interest to British Labour.[40]

There were domestic lobbies too: businessmen, bankers and industrialists had a vested interest in the downfall of the Bolshevik regime. The *Russian Outlook* (1919-20) edited by businessman Stafford Talbot and published at 69 Fleet Street, was set up in 1919 to 'give the large public in foreign countries, who are interested in affairs in Russia, accurate information with regard to its political, economic and social conditions'.[41] The journal was published every other week: it principally comprised contributions from British MPs, businessmen, military figures and clergymen, but also featured articles and letters by Russians in emigration, including Miliukov, Chaikovskii, and General Lazar Bicharakov.

The anti-Bolshevik enterprises of the post-revolutionary emigration focused less on profit and more on maximising readership. Readers of the Russian Liberation Committee's pamphlets and bulletin were encouraged to pass the publications on to a friend once they had finished reading them. Indeed, the Committee's activities were heavily subsidised, firstly by

businessman Nikolai Denisov, and later by Admiral Kolchak's government, and other wealthy members of the Russian emigration.[42] Despite the presence of a growing community of Russian émigrés in London, the periodical press of the early post-revolutionary years focused predominantly on lobbying domestic audiences, in English, rather than catering to the needs (social or political) of Russians in London.

London and the wider networks of the Russian émigré press

In both the pre- and post-revolutionary periods, London was just one centre in a larger European network of Russian émigré publishing. When Herzen began his Russian-language press in London, the only Russian networks available to him were rather unsympathetic ones: he had to procure the type for his printing press from the firm that supplied official Russian printers. When 'two or three' Russian printing presses opened in Germany in the 1850s, Herzen recalled that 'our press felt like a grandfather'.[43] In the latter half of the nineteenth century, continental cities like Geneva, Zurich, Leipzig and Paris surpassed London as centres for Russian publishing. Switzerland was a major centre both for organisation and publishing in the Russian emigration: in the late 19th and early 20th century it was home to Russian Social Democrats Georgi Plekhanov, Vera Zasulich, Pavel Akselrod, and Vladimir Lenin.[44] Although some centres were associated with specific political parties or publications, this was a network around which publications travelled. Many pre-revolutionary periodicals moved with their editors and according to their circumstances, from one European city to another. *Zhizn* (Life, 1897-1902), a literary, scientific and political journal published by Social Democrats Vladimir Bonch-Bruevich and Vladimir Posse, was published first in St. Petersburg, and when closed down by the censor moved to London, and finally to Geneva. *Iskra* (Spark, 1900-1905) was founded by Lenin as the official publication of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party,

but Bonch-Bruevich also collaborated on it (a contributing factor in the closure of *Zhizn*): it began life in Leipzig but was later published in Munich, then London (where it was produced in offices at Clerkenwell Green) and finally Geneva. *Russkii Rabochii* (The Russian Worker, 1894-99) and *Revolutsionnaya Mysl'* (Revolutionary Thought, 1908-9) both Socialist Revolutionary publications, were published first in London before moving to Paris; the Socialist Revolutionary Party's principal organ, *Revolutsionnaya Rossiya* (Revolutionary Russia, 1900-1905) moved in the other direction, from Paris to London. Vladimir Burtsev's *Narodovolets* (1897, 1903) was published first in London and then in Geneva; the anarcho-communist *Rabochii Mir* (Workers World, 1912-14) was published first in Zurich and then in London.[45]

The operations of the Russian political press in London crossed borders in other ways too. Transporting publications back to Russia was all-important for those enterprises focused on providing a vehicle for free Russian expression. The routes by which this was achieved were many but were also precarious. Polish émigrés in London helped to transport Herzen's early publications into the Russian empire.[46] Later Bakunin and Alexander Herzen junior worked with sympathetic Finns to establish a network for the transport of revolutionary literature through Scandinavia. Michael Futrell illustrates the mixed success of this enterprise: in 1880 when a grocers shop in Hammerfest closed down, local authorities found multiple copies of *Kolokol* which the owner (rather than passing them on) had used as wrapping paper for groceries and insulation for the shop's windows.[47] Nevertheless, copies of *Kolokol* reached cities like Chita and Irkutsk, and the newspaper contained correspondence from readers in Siberia.[48] The Scandinavian connection was still alive and well in the 1890s. One regular route for the dispatch of Russian Free Press Fund literature to Russia was through Ingeborg Taflin in Stockholm. Taflin had met Feliks Volkhovsky in England in the summer of 1895, and from the autumn of that year the Fundists forwarded parcels of literature to her business address. After

hours (to avoid the oversight of her business partner, who was unaware of this clandestine activity) she broke up the parcels and dispatched the literature in individual letters to Russia, sending them from train stations in order to disguise her location.[49] In the latter part of 1896 the Russian Free Press Fund paid Taflin expenses of around 80 kroner for six months: she dispatched around 50 letters each month.[50]

The publishing houses and private homes of Russians in London also became a meeting point for Russian political émigrés of all shades. Herzen's contemporaries noted that there was 'scarcely a single Russian abroad' who did not visit him.[51] Stepniak's house was described in the 1890s as 'a meeting-place for all sorts and conditions of unorthodox literary people, and the intellectual centre of the colony of Russian political exiles in London'.[52] At Vladimir Chertkov's home at Purleigh, Dmitri Abrikosov found a house 'full of guests who were interested in Tolstoy's teachings and came to discuss them', but also a Russian lady who sought to persuade him that 'the only revolutionary activity which could be of any use in Russia was terrorism'.[53] In the post-revolutionary period Tyrkova-Williams's London home was a social hub for Russian émigrés in the city: a place where 'a new-comer would sit down at the table, push away the plate of one who had gone before, and… join in at once the general never-ceasing anecdotal, philosophical… and above all political conversation'.[54]

Connections with other émigré groups in London were also important. Such connections were key for Herzen, who was well connected amongst European revolutionaries: he initially came to London to see Giuseppe Mazzini, rather than to stay. On arrival in London, the activities of Polish exiles in the city, led by Stanislaw Worcell, were an inspiration to him. Worcell encouraged Herzen in his project to establish a Russian press, and also supported him in practical terms: helping with orders, and initially housing the press on the premises of his own Polish printing house.[55] Polish independence was a major plank of Herzen's political programme, and the Russian-Polish cooperation continued when Ludvik Czarnecki became the

manager of the Russian Free Press. The post-revolutionary emigration on the other hand consciously worked against other national groups of the Russian empire, because they found their causes in direct competition at the post-war peace negotiations in Paris. Faced with the threat of recognition of Russia's border states rather than support for the anti-Bolshevik struggle, even the *Russian Commonwealth* argued that only 'a maniac of the "self-determination" formula could prefer the existence of a series of powerless, puny, "independent" republics to a mighty harmonious state'.[56]

When they appealed to an English-language readership for support this was often also part of a broader international initiative. In the 1890s for example, the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom's journal *Free Russia* was published in two English language versions, for a British and American readership; it also had a German language counterpart. Herzen's publications may have been 'adapted for Russian eyes alone', but *Poliarnaia Zvezda* was announced in the French press, and in French-language pamphlets.[57] Anti-Bolshevik émigrés also sought to make their appeal a truly international one: activists operating in Britain, America and France shared news and tactics, placed each other's articles in domestic press outlets, and sought to 'ensure complete unity of action between the Allies'.[58] Leonid Andreev's interventionist pamphlet 'SOS' was published in English, French and Russian, and also appealed to international audiences according to their traditions and characteristics. Andreev told French readers that 'Even as an infant I learned to love and respect you, Frenchman, and to seek in the history of your life models of chivalry and great spirited nobility. It is of you that I have learned of liberty, equality and fraternity'. He appealed to the Englishman as 'the man whose word is akin to law', and to the American as 'young and rich… broad in spirit and energetic'… 'the torch of your freedom shall throw its light in distant Europe also'.[59]

English audiences, sympathisers and support

Herzen's own accounts of his life in London give the impression that he did not like the city, did not really engage with the English, and did not make much impact there. In his memoir *My Past and Thoughts* he described growing 'unaccustomed to others', and living in 'hermit-like seclusion': there was 'no town in the world which is more adapted for training one away from people and training one into solitude than London'.[60] His life there was 'about as boring as that of worms in cheese', he reported, without 'a spark of anything healthy, vigorous or hopeful'.[61] Herzen certainly does not seem to have settled. He moved his domestic residence continually, living at addresses in Primrose Hill, Euston Square, Richmond, Twickenham, Finchley Road, Putney, Fulham, Regents Park, Westbourne Terrace, Teddington, and Maida Hill: he stayed at none of these addresses for much more than two years, and in most cases for much shorter periods.[62] However, both Monica Partridge and Françoise Kunka have challenged this picture, demonstrating Herzen's engagement in social and political networks, and the practical support offered to his publishing enterprises by English sympathisers.[63] The Rothschilds, for example, were instrumental in the release of Herzen's fortune from Russia, and Lionel Rothschild allowed his business address to be used as a cover for correspondence with the Free Russian Press.[64] Charles Wentworth Dilke used his diplomatic passport to transport to Russia 'the most extraordinary collection of books that was probably ever got together in that country, unless in the office of the censorship of police'.[65] Partridge and Kunka suggest that Newcastle-based radical politician Joseph Cowen was involved in shipping Herzen's publications to European ports. Certainly Cowen provided some forms of practical support: writing to Joseph Nicholson of Heaton in the 1880s he recalled printing some of Herzen's papers at his own private press at Stella, on the banks of the river Tyne.[66] Cowen's connections with Russian revolutionaries spanned many years: he corresponded with Petr Kropotkin in the 1880s, and negotiated for a serialisation of Kravchinskii's *Underground Russia* in the Newcastle Chronicle.[67] The

establishment of branches of the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom in Cardiff, Oxford, Edinburgh and Perth amongst other places provides further evidence that support networks for Russian émigré publishing and campaigning extended well beyond London.

Nevertheless, while Herzen's life in London was productive and he clearly had networks of support, his enterprises were always explicitly directed at discussions for Russians by Russians about their own affairs. He was not interested in writing about Russia for the English press, although there clearly was an appetite for such material: Herzen said that he was 'all the time being asked for articles about Russia… but somehow I cannot get on with them'.[68] Monica Partridge finds only one example – an early article for *The Leader* on Russian serfdom – in which Herzen directly appealed to the English public to involve themselves in Russian affairs.[69] For Herzen then, London was principally a place from which he could do service for other Russian opponents of tsarism, by taking advantage of publishing freedoms, and facilitating discussion. He was not focused on opening that discussion up to his hosts.

The 'Fundists' of the 1890s were the first to use their publishing enterprises to target domestic audiences. Kravchinskii believed that public opinion in free countries made a considerable impression on Russia's educated classes, and that 'every energetic manifestation of sympathy' with the struggle for freedom could have a beneficial impact.[70] When *Free Russia* was first launched Spence Watson hoped that 'our paper will become the vehicle of expression for the Russians upon the many burning questions which in Russia itself are forbidden topics', but in the paper's first editorial Kravchinskii made it clear that this was precisely not the journal's aim. 'Many Russians of all creeds and persuasions have availed themselves of the freedom of the press in foreign countries to print their papers, pamphlets, and books in order to propagate their ideas among their countrymen', he wrote. 'Our paper written in a foreign tongue has evidently no such aim.' Rather, the intention was to educate international opinion and to use that opinion to exert an influence on the tsarist government.[71] Kravchinskii regretted

the fact that their enterprise had been started so late: 'had we set ourselves to the work of propaganda among foreigners some four five years earlier … it would have corresponded with the epoch of the greatest intensity of the struggle at home… Now we come forward at a dead hour, when there is a lull in the actual fight and consequently a flagging of the interest for it abroad'. Nevertheless, he hoped that 'when the struggle once again assumes its acute form… the sympathies of the civilized world will be secured already and will find hundred means of being manifested'.[72] The paper aimed to broaden the terms in which its English readership understood the Russian revolutionary movement, highlighting not just the treatment of political prisoners in Siberia (which were much reported in the Western press) but also the oppression of religious minorities, the condition of the Russian peasantry, and the struggle for political freedoms and constitutional reforms.[73] Nevertheless the paper's editors understood how to cater to the interests of its English audience. They played down their advocacy of terror tactics, and changed 'chameleon-like' 'to make the most effective appeal to whatever segment of public opinion in England was most closely affected by particular developments in Russia'. They cooperated with clergymen and philanthropists in the case of famine and humanitarian crisis; or with labour leaders and trade unionists in support of striking workers.[74]

All those involved perceived limits to the utility of external engagement in Russian affairs. At a meeting of the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom in December 1891, William Morris objected to the idea of Englishmen looking down on the Russians as though things were perfect in England – he believed the movement should work for badly needed improvements in both countries.[75] On the other hand, as editor Volkhovsky was clear that that it was not in *Free Russia's* remit to take a position on British politics, as interference in this respect would have implications for the aims, and strategies, of the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom. In 1900, Volkhovsky came under pressure for the journal to protest against the Russian government's tacit support for the Boers in Britain's war in South Africa. He refused to get

involved. Volkhovsky objected to the idea that 'if a nation has a bad government, another nation is justified in going to war with the former for the purpose of coercing it into what is supposed to be good government'.

> Would Free Russia for once adopt such a doctrine it would mean, logically, that the Friends of Russian Freedom and their Russian allies would like Great Britain to invade Russia for the purpose of introducing constitutional government in her. As a matter of [sic] the F. of R. F. – both British and Russian – always protested against such an idea. All they wanted was - to prevent the Russian bad government doing harm on foreign soil to Russian aspirations to freedom, to show active sympathy with the Russian aspirants to freedom by materially and morally supporting the victims of tyranny, by educating public opinion, and, if possible, by preventing the British Government from taking any step which might be a support to the Russian official system. But they could never wish the British to go, arms in hand, to coerce Russia into a better political organisation … A foreign invasion, even with the best intentions, unless it were called for by a large section of the Russian nation itself – would rouse the feeling of patriotism, and this, instead of promoting the downfall of the tyrannical government of the Tzar, would unite the Russians under its leadership.[76]

In the post-revolutionary period, sections of the Russian emigration aimed precisely at encouraging external intervention in a war with Russia. This was not a unanimous position and was only gradually arrived at.[77] However, enterprises like the Russian Liberation Committee and *The Russian Commonwealth* lobbied hard for military intervention, emphasising the despotic nature of the Bolshevik government, and portraying the leaders of the Russian

emigration as representatives of the 'real Russia'. Like the Fundists of the 1890s, their lobbying efforts went beyond their own periodical publications and extended to lecture tours, meetings with influential figures, and placing material in the London press. At the outset in the 1850s Russian publishing in London had focused on facilitating uncensored discussion amongst Russian writers, thinkers and revolutionaries, but by the 1920s these émigré enterprises were very much about engaging, and lobbying, domestic audiences.

Unity and disunity in the emigration

Unity (and the appearance of unity) in the Russian emigration were concerns perpetually reflected in the political press. A united front was important in coordinating resistance to the tsarist regime, and in convincing international audiences that the Russian revolutionary movement was a cause worth backing. The Russian periodical press in London was notable for its attempts to bring the Russian political emigration together, and to present an impression of unity. Nevertheless, divisions persisted.

Herzen's ambition when he established his Free Russian Press was to publish 'everything written in the spirit of freedom': to be an all-party platform for opposition to the tsarist regime. Nevertheless, his activities attracted criticism from activists at home, particularly radicals (such as Nikolai Dobrolybov and Nikolai Chernyshevsky) who regarded Herzen as too moderate and pressed him to advocate violent revolution. Herzen was hostile to the trend towards violence amongst revolutionaries, and opposed terrorist acts. In an open letter to Alexander II in 1855, he appealed to the Tsar's own instinct for reform, writing that 'people expect from you mildness and a human heart' and expressed his 'real hope that you will do something for Russia'. [78] When Herzen did articulate a programme, he identified the emancipation of Russia's serfs as the principal priority – on this issue, all banners should

'disappear into one', and other questions could be tackled later on.[79] His platform also embraced demands for Polish independence.

By the 1890s many different political positions were represented in émigré publishing: liberals, populists, anarchists and Marxists. The émigrés associated with the Russian Press Fund came from the populist tradition, but they aimed at creating strategic unity in the emigration, and building a cross-party opposition. In the first issue of *Letuchie listki* the editors stated that they aimed to 'aid all revolutionary and opposition factions' in Russia, but that they refused to 'help along their mutual feuds'.[80] Volkhovsky believed that revolutionary and 'oppositionist' strategies could work together: as long as the revolutionary terrorist organisation Narodnaya Volya (The People's Will) were operational, for example, the government were more inclined to listen to liberal opinion.[81] However, projects for uniting émigré publishing almost always focused on constitutional reforms as a first step. Russian Marxists in emigration objected to this on the grounds that such political reforms were insufficient: a challenge to the whole social and economic structure was needed.

For this reason, Kravchinskii's enterprises never succeeded in winning the full support of Russian socialists in Geneva and Paris. Although initially in cautious sympathy with the work of the Free Russian Press Fund, by 1891 Petr Lavrov came out against it.[82] He believed Kravchinskii and Volkhovsky incapable of representing the true nature and views of the Russian revolutionary movement, because neither liberals nor socialists were prepared to fully cooperate with them.[83] He regarded the idea that public opinion in Europe and America could induce the Russian government to make liberal reforms as such a fantasy that it was not worth developing a detailed critique of the strategy.[84] Vera Zasulich also apparently 'constantly sniped at the SFRF and Free Russia' in her letters to Plekhanov.[85] Plekhanov, for his part, declared that the fact that he and Volkhovsky were both 'against Russian absolutism' was 'hardly enough to permit us to pull amicably together in the same literary harness'.[86] In defence

of their projects (and alarmed at the damage these divisions might do to them), Stepniak wrote to English supporter Edward Pease that such factionalism was common to all small parties (including the British socialists) and to emigrations of all nationalities.[87]

Plans for the new all-party journal, which was to have been called *Zemskii Sobor* (Assembly of the Land) were put on hold after Stepniak's death. After a pause the project was taken up by P. A. Dementev, a Russian businessman who had made his fortune in America and who named the town of St. Petersburg, Florida.[88] Dementev's career may have been flamboyant but his journal, *Sovremennik* (The Contemporary, 1897) proved uninspiring. In the spirit of Herzen, *Sovremennik* offered no definite programme, but opened its pages to 'all dissatisfied elements'.[89] However, Dementev either did not seek or did not receive much cooperation from others, and wrote a lot of the content himself. Each of the journal's three issues contained a long 'open letter' (to liberals, to the tsar, and finally to 'dissatisfied Russians'), along with one other long article and some small excerpts of news.[90] In the absence of any effective rallying call its programme appeared vague rather than broad. A review in Burtsev's *Narodovolets* praised the idea of an all-party journal, which might do a great service to the struggle against autocracy, but found the first number disappointing: its editors seemed 'so consumed with fear of presenting real ideas that they did their utmost to obscure them and make them difficult for their readers to understand'.[91] Lavrov also opposed *Sovremennik*, telling Dementev that the only means of cooperation between socialists and non-socialists was for all those opposing autocratic government to join a socialist party – to advocate an alliance in which socialist principles were rejected would be 'a renunciation of [Lavrov's] whole political past'.[92]

There were divisions amongst those editors producing English language publications too. Prelooker's *The Anglo-Russian* explicitly opposed *Free Russia's* advocacy of violence, and his paper attracted criticism from associates of *Free Russia* who were not happy about

splitting the support base for the cause of Russian freedom.[93] Neither was the network of western sympathisers free of factionalism. In 1891 when Kravchinskii compiled a bibliography intended to reflect the literature relating to their movement, he found it 'impossible not to offend anybody' by the inclusion or exclusion of authors who considered themselves – but were not considered by others – to be credible sources on the Russian revolutionary movement.[94]

The post-revolutionary anti-Bolshevik emigration comprised many different political positions, from Mensheviks to monarchists, united only by their opposition to the Bolshevik government. Nadezdha Teffi said of the anti-Bolshevik Russians in emigration that they 'all hated each other so much, that you couldn't put twenty people together, of whom ten were not enemies of the other ten'.[95] Nevertheless, in their publishing enterprises in the immediate post-revolutionary period they worked hard to present a united front, and to present the diversity of their politics as a strength. *The Russian Commonwealth* positioned itself quite consciously as a journal uniting 'men of different political opinions and social tendencies': they were 'striving for a complete harmony in a great variety of tones'.[96]

Afterlives of the Russian émigré press

There was substantial overlap between the generations of Russian émigré publishers mentioned in this chapter. Nikolai Ogarev, Herzen's closest collaborator on *Poliarnaia zvezda* and *Kolokol,* was later associated with the group around Lavrov who published *Vpered!*[97] Many of the instigators of anti-Bolshevik publishing enterprises in 1919-20 had been involved in earlier activist publishing circles. Ariadna Tyrkova-Williams, who coordinated the work of the Russian Liberation Committee, had worked with Petr Struve's liberal émigré periodical *Osvobozhdenie* (Liberation, 1902-05) in Stuttgart and Paris – she was responsible for

smuggling copies of the journal across the border between Finland and Russia: later she worked on the journal's editorial staff.[98] Vladimir Burtsev returned to emigration and in the 1920s worked with Sergei Melgunov and Anton Kartashev on a periodical project *Borba za Rossiiu* (The Struggle for Russia, 1926).[99] Perhaps the most remarkable career was that of Nikolai Chaikovskii, whose propaganda circle was a training ground for many émigré authors and publishers in the 1870s: he worked with Kravchinskii and Volkhovsky in London in the 1890s; toured America in 1905, raising awareness of and funds for the revolutionary struggle; was a member of the Petrograd Soviet in 1917; and headed the anti-Bolshevik government in North Russia during the civil war. In emigration in the 20s he was involved in a variety of anti-Bolshevik projects.[100] The strategies for publishing and publicising their opposition to the incumbent Russian government were familiar ones.

The instigators of these émigré publishing enterprises were also conscious of the history of Russian activism and publishing abroad. *Poliarnaia zvezda*, the first Russian political periodical to be published in London, featured a woodcut of the martyred Decembrists (by William Linton, a British artist and friend of Herzen's) on its cover. In the 1890s, the Free Russian Press still sold an extensive collection of Herzen's publications. They also stocked old numbers of the periodical *Narodnaia Volia.*[101] Almost all Russian émigré publishers compared themselves to Herzen. Stepniak asserted that through the Russian Free Press Fund's enterprises, London in the 1890s was 'gradually returning to its old function' as a home for free Russian speech.[102] In its title, *Vpered!* echoed Herzen's 1856 article 'Vpered! Vpered!'. After the October Revolution, these émigré enterprises became part of the revolutionary history of the Soviet state. In the early 1920s, the Petrograd Commission for the history of the October Revolution and the Russian Communist Party launched an initiative to reprint full editions of revolutionary literature.[103] In the 1960s, a full facsimile edition of *Poliarnaia zvezda* for the years 1855 to 1869 was published in Moscow. The editors and publishers were celebrated too:

Ogarev's remains were removed from the cemetery at Shooter's Hill and he was reburied in Moscow in 1966. Figures like Herzen and Ogarev occupied the curious position of being honoured in the Soviet Union as revolutionary heroes, and outside it as forerunners of the Soviet dissident cause.[104]

Conclusion

London was by no means the only, or the principal location of Russian political publishing in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It was however an important centre, and one with some distinct characteristics. While Russian publishing enterprises on the continent represented particular parties and political positions, London hosted many that aimed at uniting the opposition. Alexander Herzen's press, the 'grandfather' of Russian publishing abroad, established a broad, all-party platform. In the 1890s, the activists of the Russian Free Press Fund took up Herzen's mantle. While Petr Struve's *Ozvobozhdenie* (published in Stuttgart and Paris) is credited with bringing together liberals and socialists and creating the climate of cooperation evident in the revolutionary year of 1905, the Russian Free Press Fund's all-party projects foreshadowed this work.[105] Representing all sections of Russian émigré opinion could mean pleasing none, but it was considered worthwhile in order to have maximum impact on the government in Russia, and to enlist external support.

The émigré political press certainly made an impression on authorities in St. Petersburg and Moscow, and challenged them to come up with a response. Under Alexander II, Russian government officials considered launching an anti-Herzen magazine, and/or reprinting articles from *Kolokol* in order to refute them. These propositions were overruled as being 'the equivalent of killing oneself out of a fear of being killed'.[106] The tsarist government directed substantial resources to countering the activities of the Free Russian Press Fund: through

official appeals to the British Government, and by covert operations to damage their reputation or infiltrate their activities.[107] Attempts to induce the British authorities to act against the émigré publishers eventually paid off with the arrest and trial of Vladimir Burtsev. In return, *Free Russia* launched a fighting fund for Burtsev's defence. Russian émigré publishers were masters at publicising a cause, and their efforts in London were aimed not only at opening up discussion about Russian affairs, and organising for the revolutionary (or counter-revolutionary) cause, but also at publicising what they regarded as the most egregious crimes of the government in Russia. Whether organising their own efforts or enlisting external support, the work done through the periodical press was, as Herzen first said, a prelude to action. The discussion, organisation and publicity afforded by the émigré political press was a means of influencing the climate of opinion, but also strengthening the revolutionary 'fighting body'.[108]

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[1] 47 publications that were published in London are listed in Tatiana Ossorguine, Eugénie Lange and Paul Chaix, 'Périodiques en langue russe publié en Europe de 1855 à 1917' *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique* 11, no. 4 (1970), 629-709.

[2] Note from Lavrov in the copy of *Vpered!* 15/3 January 1875, p. 1, held at the British Library. On Lavrov in London see Philip Pomper, *Peter Lavrov and the Russian Revolutionary Movement* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), 155-200.

[3] Robert Henderson, 'International Collaboration in the Persecution of Russian Political Émigrés: the European Pursuit of Vladimir Burtsev', *Revolutionary Russia* 22, no. 1 (2009), 21-36.

[4] M. J. de. K. Holman, 'Translating Tolstoy for the Free Age Press: Vladimir Chertkov and his English Manager Arthur Fifield', *Slavonic and East European Review* 66, no. 2 (1988), 184-197; Charlotte Alston, *Tolstoy and his Disciples: the history of a radical international movement* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2014), 143-144.

[5] On Herzen's life see E. H. Carr, *The Romantic Exiles: A Nineteenth Century Portrait Gallery* (New York: Octagon Books, 1975)*;* on his thought see Martin Malia, *Alexander Herzen and the Birth of Russian Socialism 1812-1855* (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1965), and Edward Acton, *Alexander Herzen and the Role of the Intellectual Revolutionary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979). On Herzen in Europe, see Judith Zimmerman, *Midpassage: Alexander Herzen and European Revolution* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1989). On Herzen's London see Monica Partridge, 'Alexander Herzen and England' in *Alexander Herzen: Collected Studies* (Nottingham: Astra, 1993), 101-115, and 'Alexander Herzen and the English Press', *Slavonic and East European Review* 36, no. 87 (June, 1958), 453-470; also Françoise Kunka, 'Alexander Herzen and the Free Russian Press in London 1852-1866' (MA diss., University of Aberdeen, Aberdeen, 2007). Robert Harris's critical essay 'Alexander Herzen: Writings on the Man and His Thought' in Kathleen Parthé, *A Herzen Reader* (Evanston, Northwestern University Press, 2002), 343-370 gives an excellent view of the development of writing on Herzen from 1905 to date.

[6] 'Vol'noe Russkoe knigopechatanie v Londone', 21 February 1853, in A. I. Gertsen, *Sobranie Sochinenii v vosmi tomax.* tom 8 (Moscow: Izdatelstvo Pravda, 1975), 5-7.

[7] Ibid.

[8] *Poliarnaia zvezda* 1 (1855), ix; 'L'Étoile Polaire: Revue de l'emancipation Russe', DF.COW/A/463, Joseph Cowen Papers, Tyne and Wear Archives.

[9] 'Pis'mo k imperatoru Aleksandru vtoramu', *Poliarnaia zvezda* 1 (1855), 11-14.

[10] *Poliarnaia zvezda* 1 (1855), ix.

[11] Parthé, *A Herzen Reader,* xviii.

[12] Robert Harris, 'Alexander Herzen, Writings on the Man and his Thought' in Parthé, *A Herzen Reader,* 343.

[13] 'Predislovie', *Kolokol*, 1st July 1857, 1-3.

[14] Monica Partridge, 'Herzen, Ogarev and their Free Russian Press in London', *The Anglo-Soviet Journal*, Spring 1966, 12.

[15] John Slatter, 'Bibliography: The Russian émigré press in Britain, 1853-1917', *Slavonic and East European Review* 73, no. 4 (1995), 717.

[16] See for example *Vpered!* 15/3 January 1875; *Vpered!* 1 February/20 January 1875; *Vpered!* 15/3 February 1875.

[17] Pomper, *Lavrov and the Russian Revolutionary Movement*, 147-150. See also Boris Sapir, 'Unknown Chapters in the History of "Vpered"' *International Review of Social History* 2, no. 1 (1957), 52-77.

[18] On the Chaikovskii circle see Franco Venturi, *Roots of Revolution: A History of the Populist and Socialist Movements in Nineteenth Century Russia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 469-506.

[19] Donald Senese, *S. M. Stepniak-Kravchinskii: The London Years* (Newtonville, Mass.: Oriental Research Partners, 1987), 26-28.

[20] Donald Senese, 'Feliks Volkhovsky in London, 1890-1914', *Immigrants and Minorities* 2, no. 3 (1983), 69-71.

[21] Senese, *Stepniak-Kravchinskii*, 1.

[22] On the SFRF see Barry Hollingsworth, 'The Society of Friends of Russian Freedom: English Liberals and Russian Socialists 1890-1917' in *Oxford Slavonic Papers* New Series 3 (1970) 45-64, and Ron Grant, 'The Society of Friends of Russian Freedom (1890-1917) – A Case Study in Internationalism' *Scottish Labour History Society Journal* 3 (1970) 3-24.

[23] Sergei Stepniak-Kravchinskii to Robert Spence Watson, 19 December 1889, SW1/17/56, 15 December 1889, SW1/17/85, and 25 January 1890, SW 1/17/89, Spence Watson Papers, Robinson Library, Newcastle upon Tyne.

[24] Senese, *Stepniak-Kravchinskii*, 51.

[25] Feliks Volkhovsky to Robert Spence Watson, 4 Jan 1900 SW1/19/3; Stepniak-Kravchinskii to Spence Watson, 14th April 1890, SW1/17/91.

[26] Senese, *Stepniak-Kravchinskii*, 73.

[27] Donald Senese, 'S. M. Kravchinskii and the National Front Against Autocracy', *Slavic Review* 34, no. 3 (1975), 506-522.

[28] Senese, 'S. M. Kravchinskii and the National Front Against Autocracy', 508-509.

[29] Ibid., 518.

[30] Receipts 13 July 1897, 12 September 1898, and 16 January 1900, File 6, 'Accounts', Coll. Misc 1156, LSE Library.

[31] Henderson, 'Vladimir Burtsev and the Russian Revolutionary Emigration', 182; Hollingsworth, 'Society of Friends of Russian Freedom', 58.

[32] John Slatter, 'Jaakoff Prelooker and *The Anglo-Russian'* in Immigrants and Minorities 2:3 (1983) pp. 48-66.

[33] Holman, 'Translating Tolstoy for the Free Age Press', 184-197; Alston, *Tolstoy and his Disciples,* 144-147.

[34] E. Lazarev, 'Smert' S. M. Kravchinskago-Stepniaka' *Letuchie listki* 28 (18 January 1896), 3-6.

[35] Slatter, 'Bibliography: The Russian Émigré Press in Britain', 718.

[36] See Charlotte Alston, 'The Russian Liberation Committee in London', *Slavonica* 14, no. 1 (2008), 1-11

[37] The Committee's pamphlet publications included Ariadna Tyrkova-Williams, *Why Soviet Russia is Starving;* Dioneo [I. V. Shklovskii], 'Russia Under the Bolsheviks'; and Mikhail Rostovtseff, 'Proletarian Culture' (all London: Russian Liberation Committee, 1919). On *The New Russia's* programme see 'To Our Readers', *The New Russia* 1, no. 1 (5 February 1920):

this journal was replaced in August 1921 by the monthly (later two-three monthly) *Russian Life.*

[38] Russian Liberation Committee, Salaries paid, Box 27, BAR MS Coll. Tyrkova-Williams, Bakhmeteff Archive, Columbia University Library; Details of the telegraphic service and telegrams received can be found both in Box 27, BAR MS Coll Tyrkova-Williams, and in the H. W. Williams papers, Add. 54447-54463, British Library.

[39] 'The Union "Russian Commonwealth"', *The Russian Commonwealth* 1, no. 1 (1 November 1918), 24.

[40] Pavel Akselrod, 'Who are Traitors to International Socialism – the Bolsheviks or their Socialist Opponents in Russia?' *The Russian Commonwealth* 1, no. 2 (15 November 1918), 36-39; 1, no. 3 (1 December 1918), 62-66, and 1, no. 5-6 (20 January 1919), 121-124.

[41] 'Foreword', *The Russian Outlook* 1, no. 1 (10 May 1919), 4.

[42] Cash Statements; and correspondence with Russian Telegraphic Agency, Omsk, BAR MS Coll. Tyrkova-Williams Box 27.

[43] Parthé, *A Herzen Reader* xii and 179-85.

[44] See Alfred Erich Senn, *The Russian Revolution in Switzerland 1914-1917* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1971).

[45] Ossorguine, Lange and Chaix, 'Périodiques en langue russe', 629-709.

[46] Herzen, '1853-1863' in Parthé, *A Herzen Reader,* 179-85.

[47] Michael Futrell, *Northern Underground: Episodes of Russian Revolutionary Transport and Communications through Scandinavia and Finland 1863-1917* (London: Faber and Faber, 1963), 33.

[48] Helen Williams, 'Ringing the Bell: Editor-Reader Dialogue in Alexander Herzen's Kolokol' *Book History* 4 (2001) p. 121.

[49] Ingeborg Taflin to Felix Volkhovsky, 25 July 1895, and 30 September 1895, File 6, Coll Misc 1156, LSE Library.

[50] Ingeborg Taflin to Felix Volkhovsky, 13 January 1896, File 6, Coll Misc 1156, LSE Library.

[51] Partridge, 'Alexander Herzen and the English Press' p. 465.

[52] 'Terrible Death of M. Stepniak' *The Standard*, 24 December 1895, 3.

[53] George Lensen (ed.), *Revelations of a Russian Diplomat: the Memoirs of Dmitri I. Abrikossow* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1964), 62-3.

[54] Frank Swinnerton, *Swinnerton: An Autobiography* (London: Hutchinson and Co., 1935), 263

[55] Herzen, '1853-1863', 181. See also Partridge, 'Herzen, Ogarev and their Free Russian Press', 10, and Kunka, 'Herzen and the Free Russian Press', 81.

[56] 'The Border Provinces' *The Russian Commonwealth* 1, no. 4 (16 December 1918), 82. See also, for example, E. A. Brayley Hodgetts, 'Self-Determination and the Baltic', *The Russian Outlook* 1, no. 6 (14 June 1919), 127-8.

[57] 'L'Étoile Polaire', DF.COW/A/463, Joseph Cowen papers

[58] Samuel Harper to Harold Williams, 8 May 1918, Box 5, Folder 6, Samuel Harper papers, University of Chicago Library.

[59] Leonid Andreev, *SOS* (London: Russian Liberation Committee, 1919); *Au Secours!* (Paris, 1919); *Spasite!* (Paris, 1919).

[60] Alexander Herzen, *My Past and Thoughts* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1974), 445-447.

[61] Carr, *The Romantic Exiles*, 132.

[62] E H Carr gives a list of Herzen's many London addresses, with dates, in an appendix to *The Romantic Exiles*, 373. See also Sarah Young, 'Russians in London: Alexander Herzen, with a note on Nikolai Ogarev' http://www.sarahjyoung.com/site/2010/11/28/Russians-in-london-alexander-herzen-with-a-note-on-nikolai-ogarev/ (accessed 24th August 2016).

[63] On politics see for example a letter from Herzen to Michelet, 31/19 January 1855, in A. I. Herzen, *Sobranie Sochinenii v tridtsati tomakh* tom 25 (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo akademii nauk SSSR, 1961), 230.

[64] Herzen to E. F. Korsh and N Kh. Ketchera, 4 June 1857, in Herzen, *Sobranie Sochinenii* tom 26 pp. 95-96

[65] Partridge, *Collected Studies*, 151.

[66] Joseph Cowen to Jos. Nicholson, 30 April 1885, DF.COW/F/54, Joseph Cowen papers.

[67] Joseph Cowen to Petr Kropotkin, 31 October 1884, DF.COW/F/54, Joseph Cowen papers. Senese, *Stepniak-Kravchinskii*, 27

[68] Partridge, 'Alexander Herzen and the English Press', 458.

[69] Ibid., 455.

[70] Hollingsworth, 'Society of Friends of Russian Freedom', 49.

[71] 'The Movement in England', *Free Russia* 1, no. 1 (June 1890), 17, and *Free Russia* 1, no. 1 (June 1890), 1-2.

[72] Kravchinskii to Spence Watson, 23 March 1889, SW 1/17/83, Spence Watson papers.

[73] *Free Russia* 1:1 (June 1890), p. 2.

[74] Senese, *Stepniak-Kravchinskii*, 54. On the presentation of terror tactics for western audiences, see Jane Good, 'America and the Russian Revolutionary Movement', *The Russian Review* 41, no. 3 (1982), 273-287.

[75] 'Meeting of December 2nd', *Free Russia* 3, no. 1 (January 1892), 6.

[76] Feliks Volkhovsky to Robert Spence Watson, 4 January 1900, SW1/19/3, Spence Watson papers.

[77] Anatol Shmelev, 'The Allies in Russia, 1917-20: Intervention as seen by the whites' *Revolutionary Russia* 16, no. 1 (2003), 88-91.

[78] 'Pis'mo k imperatoru Aleksandru vtoramu', *Poliarnaia zvezda* 1 (1855), 11-14.

[79] Parthé, *A Herzen Reader*, 46-50.

[80] Senese, 'S. M. Kravchinskii and the National Front Against Autocracy', 518.

[81] Ibid., 515.

[82] Lavrov to Kravchinskii, 29 January 1890, and Kravchinskii to Lavrov, 6 February 1890, in *S. M. Stepniak-Kravchinskii v Londonskoi emigratsii* (Nauka, Moscow, 1968), 269-70.

[83] Petr Lavrov to E. Lineva, 2 April 1891, in Boris Sapir (ed.) *Lavrov: Gody emigratsii: arkhivnye materialy v dbukh tomakh.* Tom 2 (Dordrecht: D Reidel, 1974), 376-77.

[84] Lavrov to Lineva, 2 April 1891, in Sapir (ed.) *Lavrov: Gody emigratsii.* Tom 2, 379.

[85] Senese, *Stepniak-Kravchinskii*, 64.

[86] Senese, 'S. M. Kravchinskii and the National Front against Autocracy', 521.

[87] Kravchinskii to Edward Pease, late April or early May 1891, in *S. M. Stepniak-Kravchinskii v Londonskoi emigratsii*, 301-2.

[88] G. Michael Hamburg, 'The London Emigration and the Russian Liberation Movement: the Problem of Unity, 1889-1897', *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 25 no. 3 (1977), 333.

[89] 'Vmesto predisloviia', *Sovremennik* 1 (April 1897), 6.

[90] *Sovremennik* 1 (April 1897); 2 (May 1897); 3 (June 1897). G. Michael Hamburg discusses the establishment of *Sovremennik* in detail in 'The London Emigration and the Russian Liberation Movement', 333-336.

[91] 'Bibliografia', *Narodovolets* 1 (1897), 30.

[92] Hamburg, 'The London Emigration and the Russian Liberation Movement', 335.

[93] Slatter, 'Jaakoff Prelooker and *The Anglo-Russian',* 48-66

[94] Kravchinskii to Spence Watson, April 14 1890, SW1/17/91, Spence Watson papers.

[95] Paul Robinson, *The White Russian Army in Exile 1920-1941* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), 22.

[96] 'The Russian Commonwealth' in *The Russian Commonwealth* 1, no. 1 (1 November 1918).

[97] Sapir, 'Unknown chapters in the history of Vpered', 53.

[98] Richard Pipes, *Struve: Liberal on the Left 1870-1905* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1970) 352-3; and 388

[99] *Borba za Rossiiu* 1 (26 November 1926), 1.

[100] V. I. Goldin, 'Nikolai Chaikovskii in Revolution and Counter-Revolution', *Revolutionary Russia* 14, no. 1 (2001), 22-41.

[101] See *Letuchie listki* 28 January 1896, and Senese, 'S. M. Kravchinskii and the National Front against Autocracy', 514.

[102] *Free Russia,* 2, no. 12 (1 December 1892), 4.

[103] 'Predislovie', *Chernyi Peredel: organ sotsialistov-federalistov 1880-1881* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1923), 3-4.

[104] Harris, 'Alexander Herzen: Writings on the Man and his Thought', 346-350.

[105] See Hamburg, 'The London Emigration and the Russian Liberation Movement', 321, and Senese, 'S. M. Kravchinskii and the National Front Against Autocracy', 506.

[106] Parthé, *A Herzen Reader,* xxi.

[107] Senese, *Stepniak-Kravchinskii: the London Years,* 91-103.

[108] Kravchinskii to Elizabeth Spence Watson, n.d., SW1/17/93, Spence Watson papers.